

AN EARNEST
Appeal for Justice.

BY JAMES HUTCHINS.

BLACK RIVER FALLS, WIS.:
PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHOR.
1876.

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To THE HONORABLE PRESIDENT AND CABINET COUNCIL OF
THE COMMONWEALTH OF THE UNITED STATES OF NORTH
AMERICA—GREETINGS

This your humble memorialist and earnest applicant of the present period of time appeals to your honor, to your highest sense of humanity, to your deepest sense of liberty and fidelity, to your personal and national ties of honesty and brotherhood, to your governmental reliabilities, to your official duties, and to your highest national executive administration, asking you for our constitutional rights. We ask in the name of virtue and justice that we may be restored to the state and national liberties and rights that constitutionally belong to us—that we have heretofore been so brutally robbed of in the State of Missouri at the time of the difficulties that occurred with a portion of the citizens of said state, which happened between the date of the year of our Lord one thousand, eight hundred and thirty and one thousand, eight hundred and forty, which circumstance of said occurrence terminated in an immense amount of human suffering on the part of the abused, and was followed in succession with great losses of both personal and church property; and added on with the dogmatical act of exterminating one portion of the then citizens of said state. And that, too, in full consequence of default at the time on the part of the executive authority of said state, and also that of the national authority, both failing in duty to administer the common and national laws constitutionally in the premises, to harmonize with the constitutional code of laws that the forefathers of this our lovely country did compose (after a long and hard struggle with their enemies in war and bloodshed) in their humility by mutual agreement, aided by state and national abilities, established for the amelioration of their then own condition,

and also for the guidance of their children and children's children after them upon the thoroughfare highway of life, liberty and prosperity in both financial and religious pursuits until the time should roll round when the God of Heaven, in fulfillment of the prophets, would set up his kingdom on earth for a further advancement of his children in the ways of uprightness upon this land; that they may go forth in that kingdom and (as the Prophet Malachi has said) grow up as calves of the stall. Yea, and that they may be as lambs of the sheep-cote, growing up into everlasting life, enjoying a full degree of life, harmony, peace, tranquility and lasting liberty.

It would only be serious futility for us to say to you, Mr. Grant, that the party that were so brutally and unconstitutionally abused by being robbed, plundered and driven from the above-named State were the Latter-day Saints, for the fact that the circumstances of the case are well known to both officials and the common classes of mankind that constitute this nation. We most respectfully, however, beg leave of your honor to represent to your national executive administrators a few of the leading facts in the case, and we will adduce and lay before you a bill of grievances, not only for your deliberate and immediate consideration alone, but also for the free and common meditation of all executive officials belonging to this great popularized nation. In the first place, we will show and lay before your jurisprudence the fundamental principle of circumstances under which these Latter-day Saints first located in the State of Missouri, by adducing to you a brief transcription of a revelation given from Heaven to Earth, July, 1831, which reads as follows:

"Harkon, O, ye elders of my church, saith the Lord your God, who have assembled yourselves together according to my commandments in this land, which is the land of Missouri, which is the land which I have appointed and consecrated for the gathering of the saints, wherefore this is the land of promise and the place for the City of Zion. And thus saith

the Lord your God, If you will receive wisdom here is wisdom: behold the place which is now called Independence is the center place, and the spot for the temple is lying westward upon a lot which is not far from the court-house, wherefore it is wisdom that the land should be purchased by the saints, and also every tract lying westward, even unto the line running directly between Jew and Gentile, and also every tract bordering by the prairies, inasmuch as my disciples are enabled to buy lands, behold it is wisdom that they may obtain it for an everlasting inheritance."—*Book of Revelations, page 174.*

History informs that the sect known as Latter-day Saints in 1833, in the State of Missouri, published an article entitled "Free People of Color," which aroused against the sect the hostility of the whole pro-slavery party, which was peculiarly sensitive upon the question of abolition. The anti-Mormon press contained at the same time an article entitled "Beware of False Prophets." This article was distributed from house to house in Independence and its neighborhood, and contained many false charges against Smith and his associates, reiterating the calumny about the "Community of Goods and Wives." The Mormons were insulted, and sometimes beaten in the streets and on the highways, and quarrels and fights were of frequent occurrence. The same historian says: "In the beginning of April a meeting of three hundred people, enemies of the Mormons, was held in Independence, unanimously passing resolutions that the Mormons should be removed off of their diggings." After the publication of these two articles other meetings were held in various parts of Jackson County, at which still more violent resolutions were agreed to. A general meeting of the citizens of Jackson County, expressly convened, as the requisition stated, for the purpose of adopting measures to rid themselves of the sect of fanatics called Mormons, was held on the 20th of July. Between four and five hundred people attended, from every part of the county, and an address to the public was agreed upon. The address stated that little more than two

years previous some two or three of these people made their appearance in Missouri; that they now numbered upwards of one thousand two hundred; that each successive autumn and spring poured forth a new swarm of them into the country, as if the places from which they came were flooding Missouri with the very dregs of their composition; that they were but little above the condition of the blacks in regard to property and education; and that, in addition to other causes of scandal and offense, they exercised a corrupting influence over the slaves. Their address concluded by stating: "Of their pretended revelations from Heaven, their personal intercourse with God and his angels, the maladies they pretend to heal by the laying on of hands, and the contemptible gibberish with which they habitually profane the Sabbath, and which they dignify with the appellation of unknown tongues, we have nothing to say. Vengeance belongs to God alone. But as to the other matters set forth in this paper, we feel called on by every consideration of self-preservation, good society, public morals, and the fair prospects that, if they are not blasted in the germ, await this young and beautiful country, at once to declare, and we do hereby most solemnly declare, that no Mormon shall in future move and settle in this country; that those now here who shall give a definite pledge of their intention within a reasonable time to remove out of the country shall be allowed to remain unmolested until they have sufficient time to sell their property and close their business without any material sacrifice; that the editor of the *Star* be required forthwith to close his office and discontinue the business of printing in this country; and as to all other stores and shops belonging to the sect, their owners must in every case comply with the terms of the second article of this declaration, and, upon failure, prompt and efficient measures will be taken to close the same; that the Mormon leaders here are requested to use their influence in preventing any further emigration of their distant brethren to this country, and to counsel and advise their brethren here to comply with the above requisitions; that those who fail to

comply with these requisitions be referred to their brethren who have the gifts of divination and of unknown tongues to inform them of the lot that awaits them? This sarcastic but very earnest and emphatic address was unanimously adopted. The meeting adjourned for two hours, and a deputation waited upon Mr. Phelps, the Mormon editor, upon Mr. Partridge, the Bishop, and upon the keeper of the Mormon store, and urged upon them the expediency of complying with these terms. The deputation reported to the meeting that they could not procure any direct answer, and that the Mormons wished an unreasonable time for consultation upon the matter, not only among themselves in Independence but with Joseph Smith, their prophet in Kirtland. It was therefore resolved that the *Star* printing-office should be immediately razed to the ground and the types and presses secured. This resolution, said the anti-Mormons in an account of the occurrence published under their authority, was, with the utmost order and the least noise and disturbance possible, forthwith carried out, as also some other steps of a similar tendency, but no blood was spilled, nor any blows inflicted. The meeting then adjourned for three days, to give the Mormons an opportunity of considering what their fate was likely to be in case they should ultimately refuse to leave the country. The other steps of a similar tendency alluded to in this extract appear to have been the tarring and feathering of two Mormons. Phelps, the editor, managed to escape from the mob, but Partridge, the Mormon Bishop, and another saint named Allen were not so fortunate. These two were seized according to the established buckwoods or lynch fashion, stripped naked, tarred and feathered, and set loose. The Lieutenant Governor of the State of Missouri, Silburn W. Boggs, a man who from thence forward appears to have pursued the Mormons with unrelenting hostility, was in the immediate neighborhood of the riot, but declined to take any part in preserving the peace. On the morning of the 23d of July the meeting again assembled. It was composed of several hundred persons, well armed and

bearing the red flag, in sign of vengeance. They declared their intentions of driving the whole sect forcibly out of Missouri, if they would not depart peaceably: to * * * In these distressing and perilous circumstances Oliver Cowdery was dispatched to Kirtland with a message to the Prophet. On his arrival it was resolved in solemn conclave, Smith himself presiding, that the *Morning and Evening Star* should be published in Kirtland, and that a new paper, to be called the *Latter-day Saints' Messenger and Advocate*, should be forthwith started. It was also resolved to appeal for protection to Mr. Dunklin, the Governor of the State of Missouri, and to demand justice for the outrages inflicted on the sect. In the meantime Governor Dunklin wrote a sensible and conciliatory letter in reply to the Mormon petition, in which he stated that the attack on them was illegal and unjust, and recommended them to remain where they were, and to apply for redress to the ordinary tribunals of the country. This letter was widely circulated, and the Mormons, upon the strength of it, resolved to remain in Missouri and proceed with the building up of Zion. They commenced actions against the ringleaders of the mob, and engaged, for a fee of one thousand dollars, the best legal assistance they could procure to support their case. But on the 30th of October the mob was again in arms to expel them. Ten houses of the saints were unroofed and partially demolished at a place called Big Blue, and on the following day several houses were sacked at Independence. The Mormons in some instances defended their property, and a regular battle ultimately ensued between thirty of the saints, armed with rifles, and a large company of their opponents, also well armed. In this encounter two of the anti-Mormons were killed. Things at last assumed so alarming an aspect that the militia, under the command of Lieutenant Governor Boggs, was called out. The militia, however, was anti-Mormon to a man, and the unhappy saints saw that they had no alternative but in flight. The blood that had been shed had caused such an exasperation against them that it was

unsafe for a solitary Mormon to show himself in the towns or villages. The women first took the alarm, and fled with their children across the Missouri River."—*Darby's and Miller's History of the Mormons, page 87.*

We shall herein give to your high-toned legislative and national powers a copy of a letter of Mr. Packard for your adjustment.

MEMORIAL.

To the Honorable, the Governor, Senate and House of Representatives of Massachusetts, in legislative capacity assembled:

Your memorialist, a native of the State of Massachusetts, County of Hampshire and Township of Plainfield is a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and was born on the 7th day of May, A. D. 1796, begs leave most respectfully to represent to your honorable body that, after breathing the free, elastic air of the land of his nativity and braving the winter blasts of the Green Mountains for twenty-one years, during which time the principles of religious liberty began to bud, and the rights of man became deeply rooted in the bosom of your memorialist. He then went forth to the then thinly settled and wilderness part of Ohio, where he remained for about twenty-one years, enduring the hardships of turning the wilderness into fruitful fields, the products of which often help to compose the luxuries of your tables, cheering the hearts of some of the noble sons of '76 as well as those who are my cotemporaries in life. From thence he went to the State of Missouri, where he became an exile with about twelve or fifteen thousand of his brethren. Not from the birth of our national existence to the year 1832 can in the annals of the United States of America be found to blast the character of her noble sons by telling the blood-curdling tale of assembled mobs to deprive her citizens of their civil or religious liberties without their meeting a due demerit and punishment for all their crimes. But, alas, how

changed the scene! in consequence of which your memorialist has to relate to you the sad tale that in 1831, a number of respectable families residing in the vicinity of Parkman, my then place of residence, went into the State of Missouri, and in connection with others from various parts of our country, who were members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, who purchased lands of the General Government in the County of Jackson, in said state, and there became lawful residents and voters in that then free and independent portion of our country. But in consequence of an unprecedented mob rising against the saints, who, after highhanded threats, proceeded to destroy our property by demolishing our store and printing-press, taking roofs from houses, whipping, tarring and feathering some of our men, shooting others, abusing women and children, driving about one hundred of them off on the bleak prairies, many of whom were barefooted and could be followed by the blood that gushed from their lacerated feet, where they traveled through bearded grass or upon the sharp stubble of a burnt prairie for five days without food, when they succeeded in getting across the Missouri River into Clay County, where they were for a short time permitted to stay in peace, when, in 1836, threats of violence again began to be made and public meetings to be held. Resolutions were passed, and our affairs again assumed a gloomy and a fearful attitude. Vengeance and destruction were threatened, and as the authorities of Jackson County would not protect us in the enjoyment of our inalienable rights, so it was in this; and after much violence we were again driven, suffering the loss of property and enduring the privations of life, again removing and settling in the new counties of Caldwell and Davis, where there were but few inhabitants, who were either willing to sell out or live in the enjoyment of equal rights with us. Hoping at last that we should be permitted to enjoy the rights of American citizens in the last-mentioned counties, and, still having confidence in our National Government, the church, through the assistance of some of their eastern

brethren, who lent them funds, again purchased lands to a considerable amount of the United States. Although Jackson County was the place of our choice, where, also, through the labor of our own hands and the blessings of God, we had caused the earth to yield an abundance to supply our families with the necessary comforts of life whilst there; yet, while in exile from under the iron hand of oppression, we again commenced building houses, mills and other machinery for our mutual benefit, quietly tilling our lands to supply our returning wants. The stranger, by passing through the place of our exile, might have laudably boasted of our industry, from the sound of the axe in the woodland, the busy teams on the prairies, the clattering of the hammer and the plane, and the hum of wheels. These ought to have been sufficient evidence to the world that we were lawfully and laudably endeavoring to make our new homes comfortable, if not delightful. In the midst of this scene and bustle, our social hours were not unfrequently turned into mourning from a recollection of past suffering and lost friends through the Jackson and Clay County mobs. The trickling tears on the cheeks of the desolate widow, and the bursting sobs from a bereaved orphan, bewailing the loss of a husband or a father, are scenes that are better felt than described, and are ever calculated to throw a gloom over all our social circles. O, where! where is the boon of Heaven so nobly won by her fathers? Fled, alas, fled; but we hope not forever. Laudable industry and the blessing of heaven soon caused our farms to present a cheering aspect, which awakened a covetous spirit of envy in the hearts of our enemies, and the cry went forth. If the Mormons (as they called us) were let alone, Caldwell, in five years' time, would be the most wealthy and populous county in the state. Our enemies, who depended mostly upon the labor of their slaves for their living and prosperity, at beholding themselves outdone by the diligence of the hard-laboring sons of the Green Mountains, immediately took measures to possess themselves of our lands and effects, and a regular system of mobocracy was entered into to rid the

state of their rivals in prosperity. They formed a formidable band of marauders under the command of a man by the name of Bogard, and others, whose numbers increased until at length, through falsehood and duplicity, they got the authorities of the state to interfere, when a number of officers were sent with a large military force to exterminate us and confiscate our property; and all this by the authority of their more willing mobocrat Governor Lilburn W. Boggs. Plunder, rapine and murder immediately ensued, which would have disgraced a Savage war in their wildest state. Men were shot down without provocation; women were insulted and ravished until they died in the hands of their destroyers; children had their brains blown out while pleading for their lives; men moving into the country with their families were shot down, their teams, wagons and loading taken by the plunderers as booty, and their wives, with their little ones, ordered out of the state forthwith or suffer death as had their husbands, leaving them no means of conveyance but their feet and no means of subsistence but begging. Soldiers of the Revolution were slain in the most brutal manner, while pleading for their lives in the name of American citizens. Many were thrown into prison, and after enduring a mock trial that would have disgraced an inquisition, were confined in irons, and remained in prison until they made their escape. In these mock trials no man was allowed to testify in favor of the Saints, and the trials were undoubtedly designed to make the distant public believe that there was an excuse for all this outrage and violence.

To give your honorable body a correct idea of the origin of these scenes of cruelty and woe, we will here transcribe the preamble to a set of resolutions passed by those plunderers at their first meeting, held in Jackson County, for the purpose of taking measures for the expulsion of our people from that county. It is as follows:

"We, the undersigned, citizens of Jackson County, believing that an important crisis is at hand as regards our civil society, in consequence of a pretended religious society of

people that have and are still settling in our county, styling themselves Mormons, and intending, as we do, to rid our society of them—peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must—and believing as we do that the arm of the civil law does not afford us a guarantee, or at least a sufficient one, against the evils which are now inflicted on us, and seem to be increasing, by the said religious sect, deem it expedient and of the highest importance to form ourselves into a company for the better and easier accomplishment of our purposes, which we deem it almost superfluous to say, is justified, as well by the law of nature as by the law of self-defence.”

Your honorable body will see by the above that the reasons assigned for the formation of this first company of marauders was the want of power in the civil law to enable them to carry out the diabolical plottings of their wicked hearts. Hear their own words: “And believing as we do, that the arm of the civil law does not afford us a guarantee, or at least a sufficient one, against the evils which are now inflicted on us.” What were the evils complained of? Let their own words give the strange answer: “The existence of a religious society among” them: a society, too, against which not even the first crime which the law would recognize as such could be proved, themselves being judges, while yet their hearts were filled with envy and malice. If individuals, or even our society as a body, had transgressed the laws, the law was open, and they could have punished the offenders according to law as easy as to have fallen to butchering indiscriminately men, women and children. Here let your memorialist ask your honorable body to ever remember that it was not the law that our enemies sought to magnify and enforce, for no law had been broken; but they proceeded in open violation of not only the law of the land but that of nature too. Hear again the contents of their unlawful preamble: “Intending, as we do, to rid ourselves of the Mormons, peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must;” or this is the import of their fiendish preamble, by the strength of which our people were attacked indiscriminately, their houses rifled, their farms

desolated and crops destroyed, men were tied up and whipped until some died in their hands, others, to prevent their bowels from gushing out, tied handkerchiefs around their bodies, others were shot down, their wives and their children driven from their habitations, houses would be set on fire and consumed, leaving hundreds of women and children nearly naked in the dead of winter, to wander barefoot in the dark hours of the night upon the open fields and prairies, without any bed but the earth or covering but the heavens. And why all this abuse? I answer, from the very fact that we had broken no law by which they could get the slightest pretext to rid themselves of us peaceably, by law. Therefore they betook themselves to spreading falsehoods and slanders, by which they roused others to assist them to accomplish their murderous designs.

Similar outrages were again inflicted upon us in Clay County as in Jackson County, and the people were again driven, and went into Caldwell and Davis Counties, where lands were again purchased by us of the General Government. After remaining about two years in Caldwell and Davis Counties, and having, by dint of labor, raised large crops of grain and other produce, which were ready for harvest, we were followed by the same relentless spirit, and by the hands of the same persecutors who were among the first to form a company of marauders in Jackson County. The same unhallowed principles were put in operation as were first started in Jackson County, and for the purpose of creating a shadow of a pretext to justify themselves in the eyes of the public. They even went so far as to set fire to their own buildings and then report that the Mormons had done it, by which means we were driven into exile in a strange land, though one, to its honor be it remembered, where we found a friendly home.

During the whole progress of those scenes of cruelty, our entreaties and petitions were continually made to the authorities of Missouri for protection and redress. In the name of American citizens we appealed to their patriotism, their

justice, their humanity, and to their sacred honor, but they were deaf to our cries, and heeded not our petitions. All attempts at protection or redress were unheeded and fruitless. And furthermore, your memorialist has to tell your honorable body that since we have resided in the State of Illinois the same foul means has been resorted to by the State of Missouri as was practiced in Jackson and Caldwell Counties. In order to prevent their base and unjust proceedings coming to light before an injured public, they are wrongfully accusing our citizens, and kidnapping others and dragging them into Missouri, and there, after whipping and insulting them, have cast them into prison and left them to get out as they could. All this without even the form of a trial. Three several warrants have been sent by the Governor of Missouri to the Governor of Illinois, demanding the body of Joseph Smith, all of which has been set aside by the legal authorities of Illinois. These warrants were based upon the pretext, though false, that Joseph Smith was accessory to the shooting of L. W. Boggs. Would it not be well for Missouri to strike at the root of the matter, and first deal out justice to some of the murderers of the Saints? Here I have to tell your honorable body that the before-mentioned Bogard, a Methodist preacher, who was one of the leading men in the mob, has since murdered one of their own clan, and to escape the hand of justice, has fled to Texas. Therefore it would not be unreasonable to suppose that Governor Boggs was shot by one of the same class of fiendish villains who yet remains in their midst.

The United States are now reaping the benefits of the money paid into her treasury by us for those lands which we have been unjustly driven from, and those lands are still held from us by the State of Missouri, from whose hands we have received no remuneration, and from whom we can obtain no redress. These are the wrongs of which your memorialist complains; wrongs which are in open violation of the laws of the whole civilized world. The United States are bound by the constitution to give to each state a republican form of

government, and to suppress insurrection and rebellion. Are not these outrages here portrayed before you 'insurrection and rebellion?' Let your honorable body give the answer. Where is that nation to be found so stupid to her welfare, so blind to her interest, as to suffer her laws thus to be trampled upon without making a manly attempt to wipe the bloody stain from her escutcheon? If such a nation is now to be found in existence she no longer deserves to have her name recorded among the nations of the earth, lest her unborn sons be made to blush at the history of her crimes.

Let me further invite the attention of your honorable body to the disgraceful fact that the very characters who committed all the above-described outrages were upheld and paid off by the executive of the state, and at the same time that they committed these outrages they declared that they were the militia, and that they were called out to enforce the laws and see that they were kept. Under this cover they put at defiance both the laws of God and man, and with worse than a savage cruelty committed theft, violence, robbery, rape and murder! Is it a republican form of government where such a blood-chilling tragedy as this is enacted in the face and eyes of all the authorities of this nation, and no redress to be had? Let your honorable body give the answer. Is it a fact that in this boasted land of liberty a man's crimes, either pretended or real, are sufficient to subject his bosom companion to insult, his daughters to rape, himself and family to starvation and exile? Let it be answered by every virtuous man and woman, in letters of gold, big with meaning, "No!" Yet all these outrages have been committed upon us, without there being the first crime proven against us; and yet, after repeated application to the authorities of Missouri for redress, we can obtain none. Then, to say the least, had she not ought to be made to feel the chastening hand of a parent nation, and, as far as is in her power, be made to restore to us not only our rights and property, but damages for all the injury she has done us? This is our claim, and a just one, too. To whom, then, shall your memorialist look for redress

of wrongs committed upon himself and his brethren in tribulation? And where can he look for human assistance with more confidence than to the people of his native state? Nowhere! Then to your honorable body I appeal in the name of an American citizen, and in behalf of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, for redress of our wrongs, and through you to the General Government. To you he has told his wrongs, and those of his brethren; and in confidence he looks to the patriots of Massachusetts, the state of his nativity and the land of the sepulchers of his ancestors. On yonder Green Mountain, in the Town of Fairfield, lie the ashes of my father, who labored and fought to gain the liberties you now enjoy. He filled a place in the ranks of the army at the critical hour of the taking of Burgoyne; and shall his spirit be wounded at beholding the sons of Columbia in exile, and the banner of liberty stamped in the dust, and nothing done by the patriots of Massachusetts in behalf of suffering innocence? Tell it not in the streets of the valley, publish it not in the highways of the Green Mountains; lest the wicked hear the sound thereof—lest the daughters of Missouri laugh at your weakness. Yes, your memorialist tells you that he will tell his wrongs, and those of his brethren, in Massachusetts. He will publish them in the streets of the valley until the sound thereof reaches her mountaintops, that her statesmen may plead the cause of suffering innocence in the legislative halls of our nation, and her patriotic sons, stimulated by her fair daughters, raise their voices, and cease not until the cause of innocence shall be heard, and our most sacred rights restored. As one of the native sons of Massachusetts I ask your honorable body, in the name of all the constitutional rights of man, to instruct the whole delegation of Massachusetts in Congress to use all lawful and constitutional means to obtain for us a redress of all our wrongs and losses, believing, as your memorialist does, in the power of the General Government, and that they are bound, not only by every principle of justice, but also by law, to see that justice is meted out to every son and daughter

of our national republic. Weak indeed must have been the capacity of statesmen if they framed and accepted a constitution that made no provision for self-defense. Is it a fact that our laws have become so weak, and our statesmen so stupid to the existence of our nation, that American citizens can be driven from lands and enjoyments guaranteed to them by the government, and she has no power to redress their wrongs? Tell it not in the streets of Lexington! publish it not in the ships of Boston! lest it is wafted by the western breeze till it salutes the tyrant's ear and causes the daughters of Columbia to weep. If, indeed, there remains no means of redress for us, well may the despotic powers of Europe laugh and rejoice in their hearts in the anticipation of beholding the United States of America fall and crumble to atoms beneath its ponderous weight. If this be the case, come on, then, ye prowling beasts and feathered fowl! prepare to glut yourselves upon the flesh of the fair sons and daughters of Columbia's soil, fallen by her own depravity, and slain by wicked aspirants and robbers from all nations! But I hope better things than these from your honorable body. Yet certain causes will produce certain effects. If America refuses to punish robbers and murderers she opens the door for a tenfold ingress of the same. From a recollection of some of the facts contained in the history of his native state, your memorialist feels a confidence in making his appeal to your honorable body, the executive of Massachusetts, a state whose people are noted in the annals of history; and one famed for her zeal in the cause of civil and religious liberty, as well as her firmness in breaking the tyrant's chain. Their soil was the cradle of the first religious society in New England, who were exiles from Europe, as we now are from Missouri. She can boast of being the first to rise in virtuous indignation against the unjust principle of taxation without representation, when her bold sons hurled the tyrant's tea by the board, and defied the despot's power. The blood of her sons was the first to flow in the support of those principles that gave birth to our national existence. At Lexington, in defiance of

the tyrant's laws and fearless of her power, her citizens, in just indignation, rallied around the murderous clans, and in firmness of soul dared to redress the wrongs of her bleeding sons, and in the greatness of their philanthropy declared that the rights of man should be sacred, and that her land should be free, an asylum for the oppressed, a land of liberty for the tyrant's slave. Yes, on the ever-memorable 19th day of April, A.D. 1775, flowed the first blood that gave birth to our national independence. It was then the blood of the martyred sons of Massachusetts, by the hand of tyranny, first cried from the ground for vengeance of an offended God and suffering innocence to be poured upon the murderous band. Nor did the mingled groans of the dying, the wallings of the orphan, the flowing tears of the bereaved parent, and the deeper moans of the disconsolate widow, but barely have time to reach the heavens until a just retribution of an offended God was poured upon the offenders, through the valor of the patriotic sons of my native state. Fallen indeed must be the sons of those martyrs and statesmen of 1775-76 if their minds are so degenerated that they have not independence of soul sufficient to throw their influence into the legislative halls of our nation in support of the rights of suffering innocence, such as your memorialist has here laid before your honorable body. Honorable regard for the character of my native state forbids the thought. Confident, then, that the pure principles by which our forefathers were actuated still lingers in the bosoms of their sons, and need only to be awakened in the hearts of your honorable body by the tale of woe herein laid before you, your memorialist comes to your honorable body to tell you that the civil and religious liberties sought for and found by the Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock, and maintained by the blood of our fathers, have been sacrificed by relentless tyrants upon the altar of jealousy. He comes to tell you, like Babylon of old, our nation is assailed by the jealous tyrant of mankind at one end, and that your assistance is wanted in the national halls in defense of the temple of freedom erected by your fore-

fathers. He comes to tell your honorable body that the sons of his native state are denied the liberty of conscience and the right of protection under the wide-spread wings of our national escutcheon, and that the blood of the patriotic heroes of the Revolution, who have been slain in Missouri for enjoying their religious rights, the boon of heaven to man, is crying from the ground, and with the dying groans of ravished females and infant innocence are ascending with the prayers of the widows of the patriots of the Revolution into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth. Yes, their blood, their groans, their tears, and the prayers of suffering innocence, together with the prayers of your memorialist, are now crying in the ears of your honorable body through this, my silent messenger, saying "Redress! redress the wrongs of your memorialist, and those of his brothers, and wipe disgrace from the stained banner of our national republic, and perpetuate the glorious laurels so nobly won to our native state when, on Bunker's Hill, our fathers, in unequal combat, first sustained the shock and dared assert the rights of man amidst the clatter of clashing steel, the blaze of arms, and the more deep-toned thunder of the tyrant's cannon." May the departed spirits of the brave Warren and his associates whisper in the ears of your honorable body saying, "Redress the wrongs of the innocent, and maintain by legislation those rights of man so dearly bought by our blood, that flowed on Bunker's Heights." Let not the names of a Hancock and Adams, written by their own hands and attached to the Declaration of Independence, be obliterated by the slackness or timidity of the sons of Massachusetts.

Under all these circumstances, your memorialist prays to be heard by your honorable body touching all the matters of his memorial, saying to you that except our prayers are heard, our rights restored and maintained, and ample redress made, as far as can be, by the legislative powers of the United States of America, the wrath of an offended God will be poured out upon the whole nation, and her statesmen and legislators shall be awakened from their dreams by a voice

in their ears, saying: "Thou art no longer worthy to wield the destinies of the brave, noble, patriotic and virtuous sons and daughters of Columbia's soil."

And, as in duty bound, your memorialist will ever pray.

NOAH PACKARD.

[*Times and Seasons*, page 514.]

We, your present applicant, will, in consideration of this deplorable Missouri case, refer your presidential jurisprudence to a further historical account, as given of both parties, by the authors of the History of the Mormons, Messrs. Derby and Miller, saying:

"The Saints, who fled, took refuge in the neighboring counties, mostly in Clay County, which received them with some degree of kindness. Those who fled to the County of Van Buren were again driven and compelled to flee, and those who fled to La Fayette County were soon expelled, or the most of them, and had to move wherever they could find protection. * * *

The Prophet, having by this time returned to Kirtland, wrote to his people in their distress (though he did not take the bold step of personally appearing among them). He reiterated that Independence was the place divinely appointed by God for the inheritance of the Saints; that therefore they should not sell any land to which they had a legal title within its boundaries, but hold on until the Lord in his wisdom should open a way for their return. * * *

The Saints formed a numerous and powerful body, but they did not agree among themselves; and occasional seceders and deserters from their camp, many of them consisting of men who were ashamed of their previous delusions, and of others who were actuated by vindictive motives or disappointed ambition, spread abroad all sorts of rumors and stories to the disadvantage of the sect. The great schism already alluded to broke out in 1838. Joseph Smith found it necessary to denounce some of his oldest confederates, among others Oliver Cowdery, one of the three witnesses to the authenticity of their Book of Mormon and the existence of the gold plates. Martin Harris, another

witness, Sidney Rigdon, his co-equal in the government of the church, and various disciples and apostles. Sidney Rigdon was afterwards forgiven, being too important a personage to be converted into an enemy. In the midst of these squabbles the people of Jackson County and other districts made a series of pertinacious efforts to expel them finally from Missouri. A very clear narrative of these events was given in evidence, upon oath, by Hyrum, the brother of Joseph Smith, at one of the numerous criminal trials which were instituted against the members of the sect. It appears from this statement that at a popular election in 1838, at Gallatin, in Davis County, the old ill-feeling having arisen with more than its usual virulence, the mob would not allow any Mormons to exercise their privilege of voting, and a desperate fight, in which two men were killed and as many persons seriously hurt, was the result. Both parties armed to defend themselves, and carried on a guerrilla warfare for several days. The cry was raised by the anti-Mormons that there would be no peace in the country as long as a single Mormon was allowed to remain within it. Early in the September of that year the mob assembled at a place called Millport, near Adam-Ondieman, and, to use the words of Hyrum Smith, commenced making aggressions upon the Mormons, taking away their hogs and cattle, and threatening them with utter extermination or utter extinction, saying that they had a cannon and there should be no compromise only at its mouth, frequently taking men, women and children prisoners, whipping them and lacerating their bodies with hickory withes and tying them to trees and depriving them of food until they were compelled to gnaw the bark from the trees to which they were bound in order to sustain life, treating them in the most cruel manner they could invent or think of, and doing everything they could to excite the indignation of the Mormon people to rescue them, in order that they might make that a pretext of an accusation for the breach of the law, and that they might the better excite the prejudice of the populace, and thereby get aid and assistance to carry out their

hellish purposes of extermination.' We shall continue the narrative as given in Hyrum Smith's evidence: 'Immediately on the authentication of these facts messengers were dispatched from Far West to Austin A. King, judge of the district; and to Major General Atchison, commander-in-chief of that division, and Brigadier General Doniphan, demanding immediate assistance. General Atchison returned with the messengers and went immediately to Diahman, and from thence to Millport; and he found the facts were true, as reported to him by the messengers—that the citizens of that county were assembled together in a hostile attitude to the amount of two or three hundred, threatening the utter extermination of the Mormons. He immediately returned to Clay County, and ordered out a sufficient military force to quell the mob. Immediately after they were dispersed, and the army returned, the mob commenced collecting again soon after. We again applied for military aid, when General Doniphan came out with a force of sixty armed men, to Far West, but they were in such a state of insubordination that he said he could not control them. After witnessing the distressed situation of the people in Diahman, my brother (Joseph Smith, Sen.) and myself dispatched a messenger with written documents to General Atchison, stating the facts as they did then exist, praying for assistance, if possible, and requesting the editor of the *Far West* to insert the same in his newspaper, but he utterly refused to do so. We still hoped and believed that we should get assistance from the Governor, and again petitioned him, praying for assistance, setting forth our distressed situation, and in the meantime the Judge of the County Court issued orders, upon affidavits made to him by the citizens, to the Sheriff of the county to order out the militia of the county, to stand in constant readiness, night and day, to prevent the citizens from being massacred, which fearful situation they were exposed to every moment. It was on the evening of the 30th of October, according to the best of my recollection, that the army arrived at Far West, the sun about half an hour high. In a few moments

afterwards Cornelius Gillum arrived with his army, and formed a junction. This Gillum had been stationed at Hunter's Mills for about two months previous to that time, committing depredations upon the inhabitants, capturing men, women and children, and carrying them off as prisoners, lacerating their bodies with hickory withes. The army of Gillum were painted like Indians. Some of them were more conspicuous than others, and were designated by red spots. He also was painted in a similar manner, with red spots marked on his face, and styled himself the Delaware Chief. They would whoop, and halloo, and yell as near like Indians as they could, and continued to do so all that night. In the morning early the Colonel of Militia sent a messenger into the camp with a white flag, to have another interview with General Doniphan. On his return he informed us that the Governor's orders had arrived. General Doniphan said that the order of the Governor was to *exterminate* the Mormons, but he would not obey that order, but General Lucas might do as he pleased. We immediately learned from General Doniphan that the Governor's order that had arrived was only a copy of the original, and that the original order was in the hands of Major General Clark, who was on his way to Far West with an additional army of six thousand men. Immediately after this there came into the city a messenger from Haun's Mill, bringing the sad intelligence of an awful massacre of the people who were residing in that place, and that a force of two or three hundred, detached from the *main body* of the army under the superior command of Colonel Ashley, but under the immediate command of Captain Nehemiah Comstock, who the day previous had promised them peace and protection, but on receiving a copy of the Governor's order to exterminate or to expel, from the hands of Colonel Ashley, he returned upon them the following day and surprised and massacred the whole population, and then came on to the town of Far West and entered into conjunction with the main body of the army. The messenger informed us that he himself, with a few others, fled into the thickets, which

preserved them from the massacre, and on the following morning returned and collected the bodies of the people and cast them into a well. The army, during all the while they had been encamped in Far West, continued to lay waste fields of corn, making hogs, sheep and cattle common plunder, and shooting them down for sport. The city was surrounded by a strong guard, and no man, woman or child was permitted to go out or come in, under the penalty of death. Many of the citizens were shot in attempting to go out to obtain sustenance for themselves and families. It was not to be supposed that the Mormons, exposed to a series of persecutions and outrages like these, and in a country so utterly lawless, should not take measures to defend themselves, as it was unsafe for a Mormon to stir abroad. The militia of the state was again called out, under the command of General Doniphan. His measures were so vigorous, and the fury of the people against Joseph was so great, that the Mormons, dreading the general massacre of their sect so long threatened, laid down their arms, and finally resolved to leave the State of Missouri. The following address, which is of itself sufficient evidence of the cruelty and injustice with which the sect was treated, was delivered at Far West by Major General Clark to the Mormons, after they had surrendered their arms and declared themselves prisoners of war.

GENTLEMEN:—You whose names are not attached to this list of names will now have the privilege of going to your fields to obtain corn for your families, wood, &c. Those who are now taken will go from hence to prison, be tried and receive the due demerits of their crimes; but you are now at liberty, all but such as charges may be hereafter preferred against. It now devolves upon me to fulfill the treaty which you have entered into, the leading items of which I now lay before you. The first of these you have already complied with, which is, that you deliver up your leading men to be tried according to law. Second, that you deliver up your arms—this has been attended to. The third is, that you sign

over your properties to defray the expenses of the war—this you have also done. Another thing yet remains for you to comply with—that is, that you leave the state forthwith; and whatever your feelings concerning this affair, whatever your innocence, it is *nothing to me*. General Lucas, who is equal in authority with me, has made this treaty with you. I am determined to see it executed. The orders of the Governor to me were that you should be exterminated, and not allowed to continue in the state; and had your leader not been given up, and the treaty complied with, before this, you and your families would have been destroyed, and your houses in ashes.

There is a discretionary power vested in my hands, which I shall try to exercise for a season. I did not say that you must go now; but you must not think of staying here another season, or of putting in crops; for the moment you do the citizens will be upon you. I am determined to see the Governor's message fulfilled, but shall not come upon you immediately—do not think that I shall act as I have done any more—but if I have to come again because the treaty which you have made here shall be broken, you need not expect any mercy, but extermination; for I am determined the Governor's order shall be executed. As for your leaders, do not once think—do not imagine for a moment—do not let it enter your mind—that they will be delivered, or that you will see their faces again; for their fate is fixed, their die is cast, their doom is sealed.

I am sorry, gentlemen, to see so great a number of apparently intelligent men found in the situation that you are;—and, oh! that I could invoke the spirit of the unknown God to rest upon you, and deliver you from that awful chain of superstition, and liberate you from those fetters of fanaticism with which you are bound. I would advise you to scatter abroad, and never again organize with bishops, presidents, &c., lest you excite the jealousies of the people, and subject yourselves to the same calamities that have now come upon you. You have always been the aggressors, you have brought

upon yourselves these difficulties by being disaffected, and not being subject to rule—and my advice is that you become as other citizens, lest by a recurrence of these events you bring upon yourselves irretrievable ruin.

While the great body of the Mormons were thus barbarously dealt with, and while General Clark so coolly spoke of their extermination as a result which they might expect, the Prophet himself was betrayed into the hands of his enemies, and taken into custody, to answer the various charges of treason, murder and felony, which were brought against him. His brother Hyrum, and three other leaders of the sect, were apprehended at the same time. The treason was for making war against the State of Missouri; the murder was the death of the two men in the affray at Gallatin.

You will, we presume, with all patience, allow your applicant the opportunity of proceeding somewhat further in this case for your consideration in regard to this Missouri massacre by adducing to your best judgment a history of more facts that stand on record, that were originally written down by those that have since passed into the spirit world. Hyrum Smith, a brother of Joseph Smith the Prophet, in a communication written by him to the Saints scattered abroad, wrote as follows:

"It would be unnecessary for me to enter into the particulars prior to my settlement in Missouri, or give an account of my journey to that state; suffice it to say, I arrived with my family in Fur West the latter part of May, where I found many of my friends who had borne the heat and burden of the day, and whose privations and sufferings for Christ's sake had been great, with whom I fondly hoped and anticipated the pleasure of spending a season in peace, and having a cessation from the troubles and persecutions to which we had been subject for a number of years. The prospect was truly flattering; we were the owners of almost the entire county; many of the brethren had already opened very extensive farms; nature was propitious, and the comforts of life would have soon been realized by every industrious

person. But, notwithstanding these favorable auspices, a storm arose, before whose withering blast our fair and reasonable prospects were blasted and ruined: anarchy and dismay were spread through that county, as well as the adjoining county, in which our brethren had found a resting place. The inhabitants of the upper counties, jealous of the increasing number of the Saints, thinking, like some in ancient times, that if they were to let us alone, we should take away their place and nation, soon began to circulate reports prejudicial to us, and after threatening us with mobs for some time, at last put their threats into execution, and proceeded to drive off our cattle and burn our houses, while helpless females, with their tender offspring, had to flee into the wilderness and wander to a considerable distance for shelter. This state of things continued until, from false representations and a wicked desire to overthrow the Saints, the Governor called out the militia and gave orders for our extermination. Soon after the arrival of the militia at Far West, my brother Joseph, with several others who were considered leading characters in the church, were betrayed into their hands; and the day after Colonel George Hinkle, who had always been a professed friend, but who had now turned traitor, came with a company of the enemy to my house, and told them I was the person they sought. They told me I must go with them to the camp; so I was obliged to go with them. I was aware of the hostile feelings of our enemies, and their hatred to all those who professed the faith of the Church of Latter-day Saints; and I can assure my brethren that I would as soon have gone into a den of lions as into that host, who had orders from the executive of the state to put us to death, and who had every disposition to do so. When I arrived at the camp I was put under the same guard with my brother Joseph and my other friends, who had been taken the day previous. That evening a court-martial was held to consult what steps should be taken with the prisoners, when it was decided that we were to be shot the next morning, as an ensample to the rest of the church. Knowing that I

had done nothing worthy of death, or of bonds, when I heard of their unjust and cruel sentence my heart was fixed, trusting in the Lord. The next morning came on, when (according to the sentence of their court) we were to be shot. It was an important time; thousands were anticipating the event with fiendish joy, and seemed to long for the hour of execution; while our friends and brethren were beseeching a throne of grace on our behalf, and praying for our deliverance. The time at length arrived when their sentence was to be carried into effect; but in consequence of General Doniphan protesting against the unlawfulness of the proceedings, and, at the same time, threatening to withdraw his troops if they should offer to carry into effect their murderous sentence, the court rescinded their resolution; and thus their purposes were frustrated; and our bitterest enemies were disappointed. The prayers of our friends were answered, and our lives were spared. Notwithstanding the discomfiture of their plans, yet our destruction was determined upon by a vast majority, who, thinking they could better carry into effect their purposes, ordered us to be conveyed to Jackson County, where they were well aware our most cruel persecutors resided. While getting into the wagon which was to convey us to our destination, four men rushed upon us and leveled their rifles at us, seemingly with a determination to shoot us. But this was not permitted them to do. Their arms were underved, and they dropped their pieces and slunk away. While on our way to Jackson County we excited great curiosity. At our stopping-places, people would flock to see us from all quarters; a great number of whom would rail upon us, and give us abusive language, while a few would pity us, knowing that we were an injured people. When we arrived at Independence, the county seat of Jackson County, the citizens flocked from all parts of the county to see us. They were generally very abusive; some of the most ignorant gnashed their teeth upon us. Notwithstanding the determination of our enemies, they were not suffered to carry out their designs in that county; for, after enduring considerable hardships,

we were removed back as far as Richmond, in Ray County, where, for the first time in my life, I was put into prison. My feet were hurt with the fetters; and I remained in this situation for fourteen days. I endeavored to bear up under my sufferings and wrongs; but at the same time could not help but feel indignant at those who treated us with such cruelty, and who pretended to do it under the sanction of the laws. After many attempts to destroy us by the military, in all of which they were unsuccessful, we were at length delivered up to the civil law, soon after which a court of inquiry was held. A great deal of false testimony was given, prejudicial to my brethren; but all the testimony they could produce against me was, that I was one of the presidency of the church, and a firm friend of my brother Joseph. This the Court deemed sufficient to authorize my committal to prison. I was then, with my brethren, removed to Liberty, in Clay County, where I was confined for more than four months, and suffered much for want of proper food, and from the mauseous cell in which I was confined, but still more so on account of my anxiety for my family, whom I had left without any protection, and who were unable to help themselves. My wife was confined while I was away from home, and had to suffer more than tongue can tell. She was not able to sit up for several weeks, and, to heighten my affliction and the sufferings of my helpless family, my goods were unlawfully seized upon and carried off, until my family had to suffer in consequence thereof. Nor were the Missourians my only oppressors; but those with whom I had been acquainted from my youth, and who had ever pretended the greatest friendship for me, came to my house, while I was in prison, and ransacked and carried off many of my valuables; this they did under the cloak of friendship. Amongst those who treated me thus I cannot help making particular mention of Lyman Cowdery, who in connection with his brother Oliver, took from me a great many things; and, to cap the climax of his iniquity, compelled my aged father, by threatening to bring a mob upon him, to deed over to him, or his brother Oliver,

about 160 acres of land, to pay a note, which he said, I had given to Oliver, for 165 dollars. Such a note I confess I was, and still am, entirely ignorant of; and I have to say that it is a forgery. * * * After being in the hands of our enemies for about six months, the time of our deliverance at length arrived. You may judge what my feelings were when I escaped from those whose feet were fast to shed blood, and when I was again privileged to see my beloved family, who had suffered so many privations and afflictions, not only while in Far West, but likewise in moving away in that inclement season of the year. Thus I have endeavored to give you a short account of my sufferings while in the State of Missouri; but how inadequate is language to express the feelings of my mind while under them, knowing that I was innocent of crime, and that I had been dragged from my family at a time when my assistance was most needed; that I had been abused and thrust into a dungeon, and confined for months on account of my faith, and the testimony of Jesus Christ. However, I thank God that I felt a determination to die rather than deny the things which my eyes had seen, which my hands had handled, and which I had borne testimony to, wherever my lot had been cast; and I can assure my beloved brethren that I was enabled to bear as strong a testimony when nothing but death presented itself as ever I did in my life. My confidence in God was likewise unshaken. I knew that He who suffered me, along with my brethren, to be thus tried, could and would deliver us out of the hands of our enemies; and in His own due time He did so, for which I desire to bless and praise his holy name. From my close and long confinement, as well as from the sufferings of my mind, I feel my body greatly broken down and debilitated; my frame has received a shock from which it will take a long time to recover. Yet I am happy to say that my zeal for the cause of God, and my courage in defense of the truth, are as great as ever; and I yet feel a determination to do the will of God, in spite of persecutions, imprisonments, or death. I

can say with Paul, "None of these things move me; so that I may finish my course with joy."

Your brother in Jesus Christ,
 Dec., 1890

HYRUM SMITH.

CORRESPONDENCE

Between Joseph Smith and Henry Clay.

Nauvoo, Illinois, Nov. 4th, 1843.

HON. H. CLAY: *Dear Sir:*—As we understand you are a candidate for the presidency at the next election, and as the Latter-day Saints (sometimes called Mormons, who now constitute a numerous class in the school politic of this vast republic) have been robbed of an immense amount of property, and endured nameless sufferings by the State of Missouri, and from her borders have been driven by force of arms, contrary to our national covenants, and as in vain we have sought redress by all constitutional, legal and honorable means, in her courts, her executive councils and her legislative halls, and as we have petitioned Congress to take cognizance of our sufferings without effect, we have judged it wisdom to address you this communication, and solicit an immediate, specific and candid reply to *What will be your rule of action relative to us as a people, should fortune favor your ascension to the chief magistracy?*

Most respectfully, sir, your friend, and the friend of peace, good order and constitutional rights,

JOSEPH SMITH.

In behalf of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Hon. H. Clay, Ashland, Kentucky.

ASHLAND, Nov. 15th, 1843.

Dear Sir:—I have received your letter in behalf of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, stating that you

understand that I am a candidate for the presidency, and inquiring what would be my rule of action relative to you as a people should I be elected. I am profoundly grateful for the numerous and strong expressions of the people in my behalf, as a candidate for President of the United States; but I do not so consider myself. That much depends upon future events, and upon my sense of duty.

Should I be a candidate, I can enter into no *engagements*, make no promises, give no pledges to any particular portion of the people of the United States. If I ever enter into that high office, I must go into it free and unfettered, with no *guarantees* but such as are to be drawn from my whole life, character and conduct. It is not inconsistent with this declaration to say that I have viewed with a lively interest the progress of the Latter-day Saints; that I have sympathized in their sufferings under injustice, as it appeared to me, which has been inflicted upon them; and that I think, in common with all other religious communities, they ought to enjoy the security and protection of the constitution and the laws.

Joseph Smith, Esq.

H. CLAY.

JOSEPH SMITH'S REPLICATION.

Nauvoo, Illinois, May 13th, 1844.

Sir:—Your answer to my inquiry, "What would be your rule of action towards the Latter-day Saints, should you be elected President of the United States," has been under consideration since last November, in the fond expectation that you would give (for every honest citizen has a right to demand it) to the country a manifesto of your views of the best method and means which would secure to the people, the whole people, the most freedom, the most happiness, the most union, the most wealth, the most fame, the most glory at home and the most honor abroad, at the least expense; but I have waited in vain. So far as you have made public declarations they have been made, like your answer to the above, soft to flatter, rather than solid to feed the people. You

seem to abandon all former policy which may have actuated you in the discharge of a statesman's duty, when the vigor of intellect and the force of virtue should have sought out an everlasting habitation for *liberty*; when, as a wise man, a true patriot, and a friend to mankind, you should have resolved to ameliorate the awful condition of our bleeding country by a mighty plan of wisdom, righteousness, goodness and mercy that would have brought back the golden days of our nation's youth, vigor and vivacity; when prosperity crowned the efforts of a youthful republic; when the gentle aspirations of the sons of liberty were, "we are one."

In your answer to my questions, last fall, the peculiar tact of modern politicians, declaring "if you ever enter into that high office you must go into it free and unfettered, with no guarantees but such as are to be drawn from your whole life, character and conduct," so much resembles a lottery-vender's sign, with the goddess of good luck sitting on the car of fortune, astraddle of the horn of plenty, and driving the merry steeds of beatitude, without reins or bridle, that I cannot help exclaiming: O, frail man! what have you done that will exalt you? Can anything be drawn from your life, character or conduct that is worthy of being held up to the gaze of this nation as a model of virtue, charity and wisdom? Are you not a lottery-picture, with more than two blanks to a prize? Leaving many things prior to your Ghent treaty, let the world look at that, and see where is the wisdom, honor and patriotism which ought to have characterized the plenipotentiary of the only free nation upon the earth? A quarter of a century's negotiation to obtain our rights on the north-eastern boundary, and the motley manner in which Oregon tries to shine as American territory, coupled with your presidential race, and come-by-chance secretaryship in 1825, all go to convince the friends of freedom, the golden patriots of Jeffersonian Democracy, free trade and sailors' rights, and the protectors of persons and property, that an honorable war is better than a dishonorable peace. But had you really wanted to have exhibited the wisdom, clemency, benevolence and

dignity of a great man in this boasted republic, when fifteen thousand free citizens were exiled from their own homes, lands and property, in the wonderful patriotic State of Missouri, and you then, upon your oath and honor, occupying the exalted station of a Senator of Congress from the noble-hearted State of Kentucky; why did you not show the world your loyalty to law and order by using all honorable means to restore the innocent to their rights and property? Why, sir, the more we search into your character and conduct, the more we must exclaim from Holy Writ, "the tree is known by its fruit." True greatness never wavers; but when the Missouri Compromise was entered into by you, for the benefit of slavery, there was a mighty shrinkage of Western honor; and from that day, sir, the sterling Yankee, the struggling Abolitionist and the staunch Democrat, with a large number of liberal-minded Whigs, have marked you as a blackleg in politics, begging for a chance to shuffle yourself into the presidential chair, where you might deal out the destinies of our beloved country for a game of brag, that would end in "Hark from the tombs a doleful sound." Start not at this picture; for your "whole life, character and conduct" have been spotted with deeds that causes a blush upon the face of a virtuous patriot; so you must be contented in your lot, while crime, cowardice, cupidity or low cunning have handed you down from the high tower of a statesman to the black hole of a gambler. A man that accepts a challenge, or fights a duel, is nothing more nor less than a murderer; for Holy Writ declares that "whoso sheds man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed;" and when, in the renowned City of Washington, the notorious Henry Clay dropped from the summit of a senator to the sink of a scoundrel, to shoot at that chalk-line of a Randolph, he not only disgraced his own fame, family and friends, but he polluted the sanctum sanctorum of American glory; and the kingly blackguards throughout the whole world are pointing the finger of scorn at the boasted "asylum of the oppressed," and hissing at American statesmen as "gentlemen, vagabonds and murderers," holding

the olive branch of peace in one hand and a pistol for death in the other! Well might the Savior rebuke the heads of this nation with "woe unto you scribes, Pharisees, hypocrites," for the United States Government and Congress, with a few honorable exceptions, have gone the way of Cain, and must perish in their gainsayings, like Korah and his wicked host. And honest men of every clime, and the innocent, poor and oppressed, as well as heathens, pagans and Indians, everywhere, who could but hope that the tree of liberty would yield some precious fruit for the hungry human race, and shed some balmy leaves for the healing of nations, have long since given up all hopes of equal rights, of justice and judgment, and of truth and virtue, when such polluted, vain, heaven-daring, bogus patriots are forced or flung into the front rank of government, to guide the destinies of millions. Crape the heavens with weeds of woe; gird the earth with sackcloth, and let hell mutter one melody in commemoration of fallen splendor! for the glory of America has departed, and God will set a flaming sword to guard the tree of liberty, while such mint-tithing Herods as Van Buren, Boggs, Benton, Calhoun and Clay are thrust out of the realms of virtue as fit subjects for the kingdom of fallen greatness. In your late address to the people of South Carolina, where rebellion budded but could not blossom, you renounced ultraism, high tariff, and almost banished your banking system, for the more certain standard of public opinion. This is all very well, and marks the intention of the politician, the calculations of a demagogue, and the allowance of leavings of a shrewd manager, just as truly as the weather-cock does the wind when it turns upon the spire. Suppose you should, also, taking your "whole life, character and conduct" into consideration, and, as many hands make light work, stir up the old "Clay party," the "National Republican party," "High Protective Tariff party," and the late "Coon-skin party," with all their paraphernalia, *ultraism, ne plus ultraism—sine qua non*, which have grown with your growth, strengthened with your strength, and shrunk with your shrinkage, and ask the people

of this enlightened republic what they think of your powers and policy as a statesman; for verily it would seem, from all past remains of parties, policies, projects and pictures, that you are the *Clay*, and the people the *potter*; and as some vessels are marred in the hands of the potter, the natural conclusion is that you are a vessel of dishonor.

You may complain that a close examination of your "whole life, character and conduct" places you, as a Kentuckian would pleasantly term it, "in a bad fix;" but, sir, when the nation has sunk deeper in the mud at every turn of the great wheels of the union, while you have acted as one of the principal drivers, it becomes the bounden duty of the whole community, as one man, to whisper you on every point of government, to uncover every act of your life, and inquire what mighty acts you have done to benefit the nation; how much you have tithed the mint to gratify your lust; and why the fragments of your raiment hang upon the thorns by the path, as signals to beware! But your shrinkage is truly wonderful! Not only your banking system and high tariff project have vanished from your mind "like the baseless fabric of a vision," but the "annexation of Texas" has touched your pathetic sensibilities of national pride so acutely that the poor Texans, your own brethren, may fall back into the ferocity of Mexico, or be sold at auction to British stock-jobbers, and all is well; for "I," the old senator from Kentucky, "am fearful it would militate against my interest in the North to enlarge the borders of the Union in the South. Truly "a poor wise child is better than an old foolish king who will be no longer admonished." Who ever heard of a nation that had too much territory? Was it ever bad policy to make friends? Has any people ever become too good to do good? No, never; but the *ambition* and *vanity* of some men have flown away with their wisdom and judgment, and left a creaking *skeleton* to occupy the place of a noble *soul*. Why, sir, the condition of the whole earth is lamentable. * * * The Indians are blind and lame, and the United States, which ought to be the good physician with "balm from Gilead," and

an "asylum of the oppressed," has boasted, and is still boasting up into the council-chamber of the Government, a clique of political *gamblers*, to play for the old clothes and old shoes of a sick world, and "no pledge, no promise to any particular portion of the people" that the rightful heirs will ever receive a cent of their fathers' legacy! Away with such self-important, self-aggrandising and self-willed demagogues! Their friendship is colder than polar ice, and their professions meaner than the damnation of hell! When such a great dilemma of the globe, such a tremendous convulsion of kingdoms, shakes the earth from center to circumference; when castles, prison-houses and cells raise a cry to God against the cruelty of man; when the mourning of the fatherless and the widow causes anguish in heaven; when the poor among all nations cry day and night for bread and a shelter from the heat and storm; and when the degraded black slave holds up his manacled hands to the great statesmen of the United States, and sings,

"O liberty, where are thy charms,

That sages have told me were sweet?"

and when fifteen thousand free citizens of the high-blooded republic of North America are robbed and driven from one state to another without redress or redemption; it is not only time for a candidate for the presidency to pledge himself to execute judgment and justice in righteousness, law or no law, but it is his bounden duty, as a man, for the honor of a disgraced country, and for the salvation of a once-virtuous people to call for a union of all honest men, and appease the wrath of God by acts of wisdom, holiness and virtue! The fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much. Perhaps you may think I go too far with my strictures and innuendoes, because in your concluding paragraph you say: "It is not inconsistent with your declarations to say that you have viewed with a lively interest the progress of the Latter-day Saints, that you have sympathized in their sufferings under injustice, as it appeared to you, which has been inflicted upon them; and that you think, in common with other religious communities, they ought to enjoy the security and protection

of the constitution and the laws!" If words were not wind, and imagination not a vapor, such "views," "with a lively interest," might coax out a few Mormon votes; such sympathy for their sufferings under injustice might heal some of the sick yet lingering amongst them; raise some of the dead, and redress some of their property from Missouri; and finally, if thought was not a phantom we might, in common with other religious communities, you "think," enjoy the security and protection of the constitution and laws! But during ten years, while the Latter-day Saints have bled, been robbed, driven from their own lands, paid oceans of money into the treasury to pay your renowned self and others for legislating and dealing out equal rights and privileges to those in common with all other religious communities, they have waited and expected in vain! If you have possessed any patriotism it has been veiled by your popularity, for fear the Saints would fall in love with its charms. Blind charity and dumb justice never do much towards alleviating the wants of the needy, but straws show which way the wind blows. It is currently rumored that your dernier resort for the Latter-day Saints is to emigrate to Oregon or California. Such cruel humanity; such noble injustice; such honorable cowardice; such foolish wisdom; and such vicious virtue could only emanate from Clay. After the Saints have been plundered of three or four millions of land and property by the people and powers of the sovereign State of Missouri; after they have sought for redress and redemption from the County Court to Congress, and been denied through religious prejudice and sacerdotal dignity; after they have builded a city and two temples at an immense expense of labor and treasure; after they have increased from hundreds to hundreds of thousands; and after they have sent missionaries to the various nations of the earth, to gather Israel according to the predictions of all the holy prophets since the world began, that great plenipotentiary, the renowned Secretary of State, the ignoble duelist, the gambling Senator and Whig candidate for the presidency, Henry Clay—the wise Kentucky lawyer—advises

the Latter-day Saints to go to Oregon to obtain justice and set up a government of their own. O, ye crowned heads among all nations, is not Mr. Clay a wise man, and very patriotic! Why, Great God! to transport 200,000 people through a vast prairie, over the Rocky Mountains, to Oregon, a distance of nearly 2000 miles, would cost more than four millions! or, should they go by Cape Horn in ships, to California, the cost would be more than twenty millions! and all this to save the United States from inheriting the di grace of Missouri for murdering and robbing the Saints with impunity! Benton and Van Buren, who make no secret to say if they get into power they will carry out Boggs' exterminating plan to rid the country of Latter-day Saints, are

“Little nipperkins of milk, Compared with ‘Clay’s’ great aqua fortis jars.” Why, he is a real giant in humanity! Send the Mormons to Oregon, and free Missouri from debt and disgrace! Ah! sir, let this doctrine go to and fro throughout the whole earth, that we, as Van Buren said, know your cause is just, but the United States Government can do nothing for you, because it has no power; you must go to Oregon, and get justice from the Indians! I mourn for the depravity of the world; I despise the hypocrisy of christendom; I hate the imbecility of American statesmen; I detest the shrinkage of candidates for office from pledges and responsibility; I long for a day of righteousness, when he “whose right it is to reign shall judge the poor, and reprove with equity the meek of the earth,” and I pray God, who hath given our fathers a promise of a perfect government in the last days, to purify the hearts of the people and hasten the welcome day.

With the highest consideration for virtue and unadulterated freedom, I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

JOSEPH SMITH.

HON. H. CLAY, Ashland, Ky. It does seem intolerable, in the first degree of extremes, Mr. Grant, that, after all these applications; after all these memorials; after all these importunings; after all these

pleadings with tears and prayers being cogently and timely laid before county, state and United States officials by different ones of that afflicted people, praying the executives of the nation in which they lived to take legal cognizance of the deplorable and outrageous abuses that they were inflicted with by a lawless band of murderous marauders; and that as we see that those abuses thus perpetrated stand to the present time unredressed. Such, my dear sir, is certainly in every way very extraordinary; particularly when viewed by the eyes of the honest and contemplated by those that are lovers of justice; by those that are lovers of equal rights; by those that are lovers of liberty, and that love God and their country, and that have an honest regard for constitutional rights. Whereas and wherein it (the Constitution) says, "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America." This your verifier, Mr. Grant, as he now and herein contemplates the fact of calling upon you, while you are the nation's executive, to reinstate and secure these mourners to their constitutional rights, namely: the Latter-day Saints to their lands, to their citizenship in the State of Missouri, from whence they were (between the dates above named) unlawfully, unconstitutionally, and inhumanly robbed, plundered and exterminated from the state above named by the force of war implements and under penalty of death. This your importuner, in his importunity, wishes to refer your goodness to the virginity of the Constitution that the forefathers of our country framed in their humiliation upon this land to govern the acts of their children and to secure for themselves and all adopted citizens from contagion to the right of liberty, freedom and tranquility; and they have left their names assigned to these declarations, "The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states, and the judicial power shall

extend to all cases in law and equity arising under this Constitution. The U. S. shall be a party to controversies between two or more states, between a state and citizens of another state, between citizens of different states, between citizens of the same state." Any comment, Mr. Grant, upon the reality of the above-named mourners being driven from the State of Missouri would be, to a given extent, futile, from the fact that the majority of the people of this nation know, either directly or indirectly, that such was the case. But the point that is at issue between you and me is, whether that people were lawfully or unlawfully driven from that state; whether they were justly or unjustly expelled from that state, and whether their extermination harmonizes with the spirit of the constitutional laws of the United States of North America or not. We learn from the witnesses that that people emigrated to that state, and after arriving there they located themselves, after the similitude of all other actual settlers in this country. They purchased lands of the General Government, put up houses, opened up farms, raised crops, furnished stores of needful articles—such as would supply the wants of the people of a new country—free to all who chose to patronize them; erecting workshops of various kinds, starting a printing-press, building mills, and so on, and so forth, differing from other honest locaters only in their religious tolerations. However, that is one feature that is needless to be called into question here, when it is so plainly written by the framers of the Constitution that Congress shall make no laws respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.

The next we hear is the witnesses' statements of the fundamental basis on which was founded and by progression in augmentation in violence and low cupidity soon swelled its power by alliance with the state militia forces to succeed in accomplishing the unconstitutional acts of exterminating the Saints of Latter Days from the State of Missouri, and all this for want of judicary interference applied in the right direction and judiciously administered in the premises. You may

not startle at this, Mr. Grant, when we will adduce to you, and your successors, if you ever have any, an overwhelming amount of testimony unto the establishing of the fact that the national executives of this nation have failed, in their administrations, to defend us, a minor portion (in numbers) of the citizens of the United States, against lawless, mobbish and banditti rings, banded powers that, like infuriated demons emerged from the infernal regions, and as greedy dogs coming forth from the outside edges and lowest depths of mythology, have taken our property from us, torn down and burned our dwelling-houses, demolished our printing and store buildings, confiscated our goods, whipped and tar-and-feathered many of us, mangled many of our men, women and children, outraged some of our wives and daughters, and then exterminated us from the State of Mo., taking possession of our farms and land-property; and have killed our prophets. And the United States national judiciary courts have been deaf and blind to our memorials, to our importunings, to our cries and prayers. From the day of the perpetration of those outrages up to the present time our afflictions stand out unredressed as justice and law demand.

We will, however, proceed further with the witnesses' testimony. They say: "A general meeting of the citizens of Jackson County, expressly convened, as the requisition stated, for the purpose of adopting measures to rid themselves of the sect of fanatics called Mormons, was held on the 20th of July. Between four and five hundred people attended, from every part of the county, and an address stated that little more than two years previous some two or three of these people made their appearance in Missouri, and that they now numbered upwards of one thousand two hundred; that each successive autumn and spring poured forth a new swarm of them into the country, as if the places from which they came were flooding Missouri with the very dregs of their composition; that they were but little above the condition of the blacks in regard to property and education. Of their pretended revelations from Heaven, their personal intercourses

with God and his angels, the maladies they pretend to heal by the laying on of hands, and the contemptible gibberish with which they habitually profane the Sabbath, and which they dignify with the appellation of unknown tongues, we have nothing to say; vengeance belongs to God alone. But as to the other matters set forth in this paper we feel called on by every consideration of self-preservation, good society, public morals and the fair prospects that, if they are not blasted in the germ, await this young and beautiful country, at once to declare:

Article 1st. And we do hereby most solemnly declare that no Mormon (Saint) shall in future move and settle in this country; that those now here shall give a definite pledge of their intentions, within a reasonable time, to remove out of the country, shall be allowed to remain unmolested until they have sufficient time to sell their property and close their business without material sacrifice.

Article 2d. That the editor of the *Star* be required forthwith to close his office and discontinue the business of printing in this country; and as to all other stores and shops belonging to the sect, their owners must in every case comply with the terms of the second article of this declaration; and, upon failure, prompt and efficient measures will be taken to close the same.

Article 3d. That the Mormon leaders here are requested to use their influence in preventing any further emigration of their distant brethren to this country, and to counsel and advise their brethren here to comply with the above requisitions; that those who fail to comply with these requisitions be referred to those of their brethren who have the power of divination and of unknown tongues to inform them of the lot that awaits them.

We will investigate the record of the witnesses further on in pursuance of this case, Mr. Grant, and we invite your attention to the subject of the same. This witness says, after witnessing the distressed situation of the people in Diablan:
"My brother Joseph and myself returned back to the City of

Far West, and immediately dispatched a messenger with written documents to General Atchison, stating the facts as they did then exist, praying for assistance, if possible, and requesting the editor of the *Far West* to insert the same in his newspaper; but he utterly refused to do so. We still believed that we should get assistance from the Governor, and again petitioned him, praying for assistance, setting forth our distressed situation, and in the meantime the presiding Judge of the County Court issued orders, upon affidavits made to him by the citizens, to the sheriff of the county, to order out the militia of the county, to stand in constant readiness, night and day, to prevent the citizens from being massacred, which fearful situation they were exposed to every moment. It was on the evening of the 30th of October, according to the best of my recollection, that the army arrived at Far West, the sun about half an hour high. In a few moments afterwards Cornelius Gillum arrived with his army and formed a junction. This Gillum had been stationed at Hunter's Mills for about two months previous to that time, committing depredations upon the inhabitants, capturing men, women and children and carrying them off as prisoners, lacerating their bodies with hickory withes. The army of Gillum were painted like Indians. Some were more conspicuous than others, and were designated by red spots. He also was painted in a similar manner, with red spots marked on his face, and styled himself the Delaware Chief. They would whoop and halloo, and yell as near like Indians as they could, and continued to do so all that night. In the morning early the colonel of the militia sent a messenger into the camp with a white flag, to have another interview with Gen. Doniphan. On his return he informed us that General Doniphan said that the order of the Governor was to exterminate the Mormons, but he would not obey that order; but General Lucas might do as he pleased. (See the murderous hypocrisy, Mr. Grant.) We immediately learned from General Doniphan that the Governor's order that had arrived was only a copy of the original, and that the original order was in the hands of Major

General Clark, who was on his way to Far West with an additional army of six thousand men. Immediately after this there came into the city a messenger from Haun's Mills, bringing the intelligence of an awful massacre of the people who were residing in that place, and that a force of two or three hundred, detached from the main body of the army, under the immediate command of Captain Nehemiah Comstock, who the day previous had promised them peace and protection, but on receiving a copy of the Governor's order to exterminate or to expel, from the hands of Colonel Ashley, he returned upon them the following day and surprised and massacred the whole population, and then came on to the town of Far West and entered into conjunction with the main body of the army. The messenger informed us that himself, with a few others, fled into the thickets, which preserved them from the massacre, and on the following morning returned and collected the dead bodies of the people and cast them into a well. There were upwards of twenty who were dead or mortally wounded.

HYMUS SMITH.
History Book of the Mormons, page 107

The following address, that was delivered at Far West by one of the then foremost state military officers, namely, Major General Clark, Mr. Grant, is sufficient evidence, in and of itself, to show plainly that in this case the civil-law authority of that state had apostatized from the constitutional chastity of our country those state militia officers, the Governor's satellites of the dark regions of blackness, who stooped to the very lowest degree of degradation and cupidity, turned mob and blended their forces with that banded banditti band of mobbish marauders that germinated in the County of Jackson and State of Missouri, for the express purpose of robbing and driving a portion of the lawful citizens of that country (they having learned that law would wink at them with both eyes, saying justification) from their lands and homes, which they accomplished between the dates heretofore

named by blending their ambuscading forces. The speech delivered by the military general, Clark, is as follows:

CHARLEMEN:—You whose names are not attached to this list of names will now have the privilege of going to your fields to obtain corn for your families, wood, &c. Those that are now taken will go from thence to prison, be tried and receive the due merits of their crimes; but you are now at liberty, all but such as charges may be hereafter preferred against. It now devolves upon you to fulfill the treaty that you have entered into, the leading items of which I now lay before you. The first of these you have already complied with, which is that you deliver up your leading men, to be tried according to law. Second, that you deliver up your arms. This has been attended to. The third is that you sign over your *properties*, to defray the expenses of the war. This you have also done. Another thing yet remains for you to comply with; that is that you *leave the state* forthwith. And, whatever your feelings concerning this affair, whatever your innocence, it is nothing to me. General Lucas, who is equal in *authority* with me, has made this treaty with you. I am determined to see it executed! The orders of the Governor to me were that you should be *exterminated*, and not allowed to continue in the *state*; and had your leaders not been given up, and the treaty complied with, before this you and your families would have been destroyed and your houses in ashes. There is a discretionary power vested in my hands, which I shall try to exercise for a season. I did not say that you *shall* go now, but you *must* not think of staying here another season; or of putting in crops; for the moment you do the citizens will be upon you. I am determined to see the Governor's message fulfilled, but shall not come upon you immediately. Do not think that I shall do as I have done any more; but if I have to come again because the treaty you have made here shall be broken, you need not expect any mercy, but extermination; for I am determined the Governor's order shall be executed. As for your leaders, do not once think, do not imagine for a moment, do not let it enter your

mind, that they will be delivered, or that you will see their faces again; for their fate is fixed, their die is cast, their doom is sealed. I am sorry (said he), gentlemen, to see so great a number of apparently intelligent men found in the situation that you are. And, O that I could invoke the spirit of the unknown God to rest upon you and deliver you from that awful chain of superstition, and liberate you from those fetters of fanaticism with which you are bound. I would advise you to scatter abroad, and never again organize with bishops, presidents, &c., lest you excite the jealousies of the people and subject yourselves to the same calamities that have now come upon you. You have always been the aggressors. You have brought upon yourselves these difficulties by being disaffected and not being subject to rule; and my advice is that you become as other citizens, lest by a recurrence of these events you bring upon yourselves irretrievable ruin. — *See History of Past Events, page 111.*

A few commentary annotations, Mr. Grant, adduced by this your philanthropist and conservator, in relation to the consideration of this case, and upon some of the most prominent points of the Jackson County mob-formed constitution and General Clark's address delivered at Far West, we presume will not be out of order in the premises. Nevertheless, we propose to cleave to our text, namely, the written Constitution of the United States. The first article of the mob's illegitimate and fecundated composition says: "We do hereby most solemnly declare that no Mormon shall in future move and settle in this country; that those now here shall give a definite pledge of their intentions within a reasonable time to remove out of the country." In their article we can see no portion or part in its construction, or even a feature on its face, that agrees with, or is in anywise harmonised with the written word of the Constitution of our country. Let it answer in the premises. It says: "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States, and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any

law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States. Nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law. Their second article, as unhallowed as the first, says: "That the editor of the *Star* be required forthwith to close his office and discontinue the business of printing in this country; and as to all other stores and shops belonging to the sect, their owners must in every case comply with the terms of the second article of this declaration." We are persuaded, Mr. Grant, that your humanity, when directed by honesty, will hardly fail of enabling you to plainly perceive the imposition of all the unconstitutional features employed in this spurious constitution; when the Constitution of the United States says "the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated," "the citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states."

The succeeding point of importance that this your addresser will call into question, Mr. Grant, is Major General Clark's impious innovations; in relation to his gracelessness in robbing and driving that people (the Saints) from that country. As he emphatically announced that he was acting under orders from the Governor of that state, then the most to be considered, understood and appreciated on your part (though known on ours) in the case is, whether those Governor claimed orders were constitutional or unconstitutional. You will not fail to see what he (General Clark) said to that portion of the (then) citizens of that state, at the place of Far West, after they had laid down the arms that they had taken up on the pretence of self-defence against lawless, unreasonable searches, robberies, mobbers and murders, until executive authority might be legally obtained through their importunities and supplicating their state officials to take cognizance of the case; which they did do. But the whole movements on the part of the executive arrangements remind us of a murderous circumstance that occurred some years since in one of the southern slave-

states, wherein there went out one day a planter on his farm, where he came to a place where one of his man-servants was plowing. He accused the servant of doing poor plowing. The servant, by words, contradicted the farmer, and vehemently pitched himself at him, wherein a hard and long scuffle between them was the result, though the farmer finally proved best in the scuffle and brought his antagonist to the earth, where he held him tight and called some slave-women who were off a few paces hoeing cotton to come and assist him in blinding the transgressor that he was then holding by physical power to the earth. The women obeyed the call of the farmer. They went pretendingly to his assistance, carrying their weeding-hoes with them; but on their arrival they commenced dealing their blows upon the person of the farmer, and continued until they finally succeeded in killing him. They then took his body, threw into a deep gully, covered it over deeply with old pine logs, returned to their hoeing, with a hope and trembling confidence that the logs would never be removed, nor the murderous deed detected. But in process of time the matter was looked after, the logs removed, the farmer found, the murderesses brought up, proved guilty and punished.

We will now return in view and consideration General Clark's mandates, given by him to that people who laid down their arms at his feet with the expectation of being sustained in their national, state, county and home rights, lawfully and even-handed with all other citizens of the United States, as law directed. But alas! hear the words of that impostor. He said: "It now devolves upon you (Saints) to fulfill the **TREATY** that you have entered into." Your memory will serve you, we think, Mr. Grant, to the strengthening of your thinking faculties, to a sensation of the fact that the Constitution of these United States forbids any and all states belonging to its jurisdiction of making any treaties, under any circumstances whatever, reserving that right of power to rest invested with the supreme executive authority of the nation. "For which it says (the written constitution) "No state

shall enter into any treaty;" and your oath binds you, Mr. Grant, in connection with your predecessors, to the best of your ability to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States. And again it announces this fact that "the judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under this Constitution; the laws of the United States; and treaties made or which shall be made under their authority to all cases between a state and citizens of another state, between citizens of different states, between citizens of the same state claiming lands under grants of different states, and between a state and the citizens thereof and foreign states, citizens or subjects." And again it says "the citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states." But the heroic General Clark pursues, with his unblushing, with his unauthorized and unconstitutional orders and innuendoes, and says: "The leading items of which I now lay before you (Saints). The first of these you have already complied with, which is that you deliver up your leading men, to be tried according to law. Second, that you deliver up your arms. This has been attended to. The third is that you sign over your properties to defray the expenses of the war. This you have also done. Another thing yet remains for you to comply with, that is that you leave the state forthwith. And whatever your feelings concerning this affair, whatever your innocence, it is nothing to me. General Lucas, who is equal in authority with me, has made this TREATY with you. I am determined to see it executed. The orders of the Governor to me were that you should be exterminated, and not allowed to continue in the state. We feel lenient to every tie of humanity that would make a nation free and happy, to respectfully refer your candid attention, Mr. Grant, to the consideration of the full meaning and virtues of that portion of the Constitution that asserts emphatically that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States, and of the states wherein they reside." "No state shall make or enforce

ally law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." Then, in consideration of life, liberty, property and equal rights that rightfully belong to the American people, Mr. Grant, (and if in derogation to the constitutional rule of this government, Congress has at any time since the establishment of the Constitution by our forefathers, legislated a bill of law to coincide with Governor Boggs' orders, that were enforced by his generals, as in the case above named, then when, and which one of your predecessors, in the day of his presidency, signed that bill? And if any, then why was not that law and rule put in force in the known case of Jeff Davis taking up arms against the General Government, as he did, and compel him and his adherents (by law if you have any such) to lay down their arms, sign over all their properties to defray the expenses of a war that was never fought, kill a portion of them, outrage some of their wives and daughters, throw down and burn their houses, as did the mob and state officers combined; as did Cornelius Gallum, Captain Nehemiah Comstock and Colonel Ashley the defenseless Saints at Haun's Mills; then compel the living ones to sign over their real-estate property, rape them of their citizenship, and exterminate them from the country, as did Governor Boggs the Saints in Missouri? In the struggles of the meditations of your mind, Mr. Grant, you may claim that the leaders of the Saints were accused of being guilty of the crime of treason. So was Jesus Christ accused by the murderous portion of mankind in his day; though after a legal examination by law Governor Pilate proclaimed to the mob, his accusers, that he found no fault in him. If the Mormon people had all been guilty of such a charge it would leave no evidence that the executive authority of that state was clean or clear of murder, robbery, and the crime of driving that people from that country; for in the light of this fact they, at the time of being robbed, murdered and driven,

were neither tried by law, condemned by jury, nor sentenced by any judge that the laws of this country should concede to; for it, the conscientiousness of the written constitution, wherein it says "no person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court, and that Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason" (not governors, generals, or mobs). And in another place it laudably says: "In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense." After giving lawful and due credence to law, order, humanity, life, liberty, justice, state and national rights that constitutionally belong to all American citizens, then, should the life and character of the then Governor of Missouri, namely, Lilburn W. Boggs, and his administration when acting as governor, be called into question by a virtuous community? In truth and justice could any say to the contrary than O, you latter-day North American wolf, dog, mobocrat of the nineteenth century, who waned and fell from the honor and dignity of American statesmanship to the low sink and deep degree of degradation that by the law that justice loves and honors will cause his name to stand enrolled upon the list and record of defamation--among the names of the damned for ages to come! For he who rallied his generals, sent them with the state militia forces, apostatized from American constitutional state and United States laws, and for the request and gratification of a few empty-headed devils in the shape of men, who had banded themselves together, forming a mobbish banditti of murderers, then sent his orders by the peace officers of the state, killing, wounding, robbing and driving men, women and children, by the force of arms, from the country, without

law, justice or mercy—some fourteen or fifteen thousand men, women and children, citizens of that state—because they had previously, by the actuation of their minds, and through their own free agency, embraced the faith of the Latter-day Saints. O, scrape the earth with the sorrows and moans of the now dead. Crown the heads of the dying with multiplied hopes of better things in the regions of futurity. Soften the hearts of the living with the science of humanity, and pray God, the greatest of all, to break in pieces and destroy the rod of the tyrant's wand from the face of this fair-famed earth, for ever and ever. *These things will ye do, ye shall be blessed, and ye shall have peace.*

Therefore, and in consideration of due respect and honest regard for the established Constitution of the United States of North America, that our forefathers of this our country did, in the days of their probation, establish, by their united voices, as a fundamental rule and law-guide for the protection and security of themselves and their children after them; consequently, with a loyal submission and a high order of regard and respect for all the preambulatory portions of their established Constitution that they so long struggled to establish for the peace, harmony and tranquility of a nation that was then in its infancy, is the theme of this your loyalist, Mr. Grant, for which it says: "We, the people of the United States, in order to establish a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America." Then and therefore, Mr. Grant, inasmuch as we, the society of Latter-day Saints, a portion of the citizens of the United States, were driven from our homes, lands and country, but, in honor to our cause, we were not driven by judiciary authority, as we have proved to you, but in derogation to the constitutional covenants of the forefathers of our country; consequently and therefore you, now being the nation's chief executive, and your oath binds you to the best of your abilities to protect the chastity of the nation's constitution

against any and all encroachments that might seek to disturb it of its maidenhood on purpose to subject it to desilement and pollution; and to do so is virtually to defend its children and hold them secure in all their rights that the Constitution guarantees to them. In consequence and in the behalf of justice, truth, life, liberty, humanity, fidelity, harmony, and constitutional rights, we do at this period of time, in the name of justice, call upon you, by the virtue of your office, to reinstate that people to their state and national rights that the heretofore executive authority of the general government did allow unauthorized and lawless men to use their powers in robbing us of our constitutional rights, as we have clearly and abundantly proved to you. Then and therefore, restore to each and every individual, whether man, woman or child, every tract, piece, part and portion of land property that was paid for by them (Latter-day Saints) into any of the United States land-offices in that state between the dates of and in the years of our Lord 1830 and 1840, which lands now lie within the bounds of the State of Missouri and limits of the United States of North America, that specially, particularly, rightfully and constitutionally belong to them and their heirs. Such is that which we ask of you, Mr. Grant, you being now the President of the United States of North America, and in the year of our Lord 1876; and we ask it in the name of peace on the part of all parties who may be concerned. We ask it on the part and in the behalf of the part and party that were so brutally and inhumanly robbed of their lands and homes. We ask it in the name of justice; in the name of liberty; in the name of humanity; in the name of the honest portions of the citizens of the United States. We ask it in the name of angels of the Lord Jesus Christ, and also in the name of Almighty God, who doeth all things well. And in relation to the reality of the subject herein proposed, Mr. Grant, what will be your policy and rule of action? Will you be found possessing as much charity, and dulcified with the spirit of liberty as was that which twined around the noble-hearted Abraham Lincoln; or will you, on the other

hand, be as obstinate and as unrelenting Pharaoh of Egypt; or will you be as true to justice as a Joseph Smith of the Nineteenth Century, or will you be as negative and selfish as a Brigham Young of the Rocky Mountains; or will you be as neighborly to a righteous rule of government as was a Hiram of Tyria, or will you be as ungodly as a Pope Pius of older times; or will you be as kind-hearted as the neighborly Samaritan that is written of in the Scriptures? Whatever your course of action may be in relation to the whole requisition, if you should or do fail to use your utmost abilities in pursuance of the functions of your office, as constitutional law directs, and as justice demands, and altogether fail to restore the above-named land-owners to their lands, and their lands to them, and they to their state, national and constitutional rights, then you may rest well assured that you will be left to stand your own chances in regard to Divine interposition.

Liberty of conscience and secure in our homes may make us men;

But take both of these away, and what are we then?

Freedom and reason naturally belong to all mankind;

Deprive us of these and we are then brutally confined—

For God, in the beginning of man's first creation,

Never hampered his mind from a free sensation.

Freedom in the action of our minds legally belongs to all;

This was secured to our Father Adam before his fall.

Truth is always safe, Mr. Grant, resting and confiding upon its own intrinsic and meritorious merits. It is only truth's abusers and false abusers, those that choose to support falsehood, who stand on a sandy foundation—who fear and tremble when truth is developed and faithfully sustained by loyal, honest and valiant men and women. A few annotations, however, in relation to the administration of this nation from its birth to the present will not be out of place, nor aside from good order, inasmuch as such is introduced for the due consideration of all parties that may feel in any way

concerned in matters of right and wrong, truth and falsehood, justice and injustice. Experiment is a safe witness to prove the fact that smothered truth, blind justice and cold charity have never done much for the alleviation of the wants of the needy. Since the birth of this our nation, and from the fair days of its first constitutional supporter, even the chaste George Washington, have the people of the nation passed through many vicissitudes long to be remembered by the punitive portions of mankind. That the chastity that was inaugurated to guide the honesty and destinies of the people of this our bounteous country has waned in the line and course of its virginity is obvious in the estimation of all enlightened-minded observers. If it were otherwise, then why is it that the glorious crown, with its heaven-like plumage, that was placed upon the head of the nation by the honest hands of our forefathers fallen to the ground and trampled under foot. The most reliable answer is that aspirant political demagogues (with here and there an honorable exception), in the progression of the gone-by lifetime of the political government of the nation, have gambled with each other for the shears wherewith to fleece the people, and so monopolizing the power to themselves; then, as a natural consequence, they have dallied with the liberties and rights of the people until anarchy and political confusion, in consequence of an inward, lurking and irksome inwardly inflammation has swelled and bloated its outer surface until it has become to be one of the most prominent and scrofulous features that now spots the face of the nation. Corrupt legislation in the halls of Congress, where confusion has been dandled upon the lap and knees of cupidity until demoralization has fomented in its parts that shows its baneful effects that it has been one of the blighting means of augmenting the nation's arrogance to a deplorable degree of pomposity with the head-sick faint, and dizzy with poisonous blood flowing through the veins of the nation's subjects has so contaminated the whole political body, corrupting the morals and hardening the hearts of the nation's children. Detestable as it is, though

none the less true, the administration of the General Government of the Nation of North America has defamed its character by its undevout devotion, in the estimation of all sound-minded men and women, by incestuously departing from the rule of rectitude, demoralizing the chords of love and justice, robbing the Constitution of the United States of its blooming, lovely and primary charms, disrobing it of its chastity and subjecting the mother of the free-born to diabolical and objectionable lewdness, for which the majority of the sons and daughters of the children of the nation are traveling headlong on the broad road and way that leads directly down to destruction. Consequently the administration of the nation hath been viewed and weighed in the balancing scale of justice, measured by the square rule of honesty, and tried with the plumb-line of truth and punctuality, and by Heaven's judgment it is found to be wanton; for its compound parts, when compounded, are made up of such elements as trickery, embezzlings, robbings, swindlings, plunderings, murderings, and numerous other ravages of less moment though equally as dangerous in the nature of things, until the fountains of truth and justice are broken up. Debauchery hath given birth to her children, and they have been schooled in the seminaries of spoilation, rocked in the cradle of infidelity, and have been graduated by the great principal school-master of destruction, until, as a pestilence, the beetles, the flies, the lice, the worms, the bugs, the grubs and the dauntless southwestern and northwestern grasshoppers, are pushing their ravages and army forces that may (mob like) defeat the farmer of his earnings and leave him to new trials, or even empty. And in addition to these pricking touchings, and in consequence of the debauchery of the majority of the whole polity, the cries and prayers of the honest few, the moans of the widow and fatherless, the poor and starving, have ascended from earth to heaven, and have entered into the ears of the Lord of the whole earth. And again, in harmony with prophesy, are the seas rolling forth their angry waves beyond their primitive bounds, washing away houses and committing

depredations upon life and valuables. And in connection with this are the eruptions in the earth bursting and belching forth from their fire-master mouths the vivid lava in such confusion in divers places as to demolish towns, villages and neighborhoods, destroying their millions in valuation; and in addition to all these, fire that we find composed of elementary and purifying qualities in its latter-day ravages defeating city scavengers of their dirty work by running out its scorching and lengthy tongue, licking up and swallowing down, as it were, a city here and another there, as a problem of destroying and making waste of some of the primary heart-cores of repugnancy. In like manner the elementary elements that surround our earth in their warlike confusions, are going forth upon the wings of ethereal air as a fire-flying water-born serpent, blowing from its widespread nostrils the breath that its inwards have contaminated, discharging from its pointed fangs the venom of its poison, in its boisterous progression, laming and destroying on its way cities, villages, towns, forests, gardens, &c., followed in quick succession by the drenching showers of rain and bursting water-spouts, in their fearful goings forth, defacing hills and mountains, carrying with its forces ponderous rocks, sweeping and foaming down the valley-ways of creeks and rivers as though there were no level in existence for it to enjoy a moment's rest. In its hurrying career it leaves its works of devastation at numerous places as an ensign to the inmates of this world to beware of low spots, inundating cities, villages, towns and farms to an alarming degree of fears, leaving in its rear a long and broad sheet, spotted with the marks of desolation on its track as a mark of defiance to relief from its ravages; but, nevertheless and notwithstanding all these things, they are a portion of God's witnesses to his words by the mouths of his servants, the prophets, for in the last days perilous times were to come, and that they would be fecundated by wicked and evil designing men. Then, in meekness of a due consideration of the future welfare and a high order of consideration which is the rich bounty given to all who will yield obe-

dience to a righteous law, will the high, the low, the rich, the poor and needy ones of the present age of the world bear in patience with this, man's philanthropist, and allow him, with frugality, to offer a few more important and leading facts in review of each individual's consideration in regard to rewards and punishments in this world and the one to come. With the testimony before us, that the majority of the world of mankind has lived for long years under the guidance and jurisdiction of sophisticated laws, administered by human wisdom alone, have only been productive of momentary peace and harmony between man and man, should be sweeping testimony—sufficient to satisfy all inquiring and investigating minds that to arrive unto a full degree of harmony under the influence and jurisdiction of sophisticated laws is a moral impossibility; and to arrive to the desired position can only be attained under the administration of an unsophisticated law supremely presided by heaven's council, as in the days of a Moses and a Solomon. Man's redemption from sin and delivery from punishment particularly and strictly depends upon the conditions and circumstances of his embracing a full code of complicated truths. And after seeing, comprehending and appreciating the fact that the thoughtless, reckless and disobedient portions of mankind have wasted their estates viciously in traveling upon the high and rough ways of prodigality; and as the parable of the two sons shaken off by the Lord of the whole earth are applicable to the present situation and circumstances of the affairs of mankind at present is plain, when that plainness is once comprehended by a sound, intellectual, scientific and mathematical rule of reasoning from cause to effect and from effect to cause, by that rule of reasoning, while in the midst of perilous surroundings, seems to be the motherly cause of the spendthrift (that's written of). Beginning to come to himself, he then soon began to comprehend, to a given extent, that which had been the slow but sure producing cause of his there poverty, smitten and perilous circumstances that surrounded him. He then began not only to remember, but to consider, that he

had in his youthful days received from his father's estate an honest and equal portion of goods divided by his father between himself and his older brother. Or, to be a little more definite, he had received an equal portion of that spirit that lighteneth every sane man that cometh into the world, but he, under the actuation of his free agency, like Esau of old, choosing so to do, gathered up his living and went into a far country (North America), and there wasted that which he had received from his father's estate, and, in addition, had squandered all of his daily earnings by taking a boyish-like course, with riotous living in the midst of a community of seducing harlots; but when a mighty famine arose in that land (as is now arising upon this), the prodigal, looking a little more minutely into his case of pinching circumstances, finds himself joined as a secondary servant to a citizen of that country—not a hired servant, however, but joined by allegory and sent into the fields to feed swine, where he would gladly have filled his belly with the husks, or, in other words, would gladly have quenched his craving appetite for the husk by having a liberal access to the husks, that he might be enabled to buy bread to save himself from starvation; for it seems to be considerably clear that the husks spoken of in the parable that the swine were fed with were parallel, if no more, with greenbacks, which were the husk-food that the greedy hogs were fed with in that country. And they, being very numerous and quite hoggish, which is characteristic with all hogs, it took a large amount of husk-food to keep the fat augmenting upon their bones until slaughtering time; and the generality of the inmates of that country being oppressive money-lovers had hoarded up the country's living to such a degree that, under his starving circumstances for want of husk-food, no man gave unto him. Now by this time, having more fully come to himself, and in consequence, he exclaims: "How many hired servants of my father have bread enough and to spare, and I perish with hunger. I will arise and go to my father, and will say unto him, 'Father, I have sinned against Heaven and before thee.'"

In conclusion we advise all, both rich and poor, high and low, men and women, to divest themselves of all party partialities, all selfishness, all prejudices, and allow your intellectual faculties and abilities full scope for reasoning purposes, and persuade your meditations to be soothing, in a humane way, to your hungry, needy and starving souls, and also persuade yourselves to cease from allowing your ignorance to administer to your blindness; and when you do come to yourselves, then, prodigal-like, arise and turn your backs upon all parts and portions of prodigality, with your faces heavenward, and wend your way to your Father's house, which is composed of many mansions, and He will see your works, and will have compassion, even when you are yet a long way off. Enter ye in at the straight and narrow gateway, and travel the narrow but sure way that leads to a house and world of plenty. Yea, even unto the rich treasure-house of the Almighty, whose table is always furnished with all healthy and reliable dainties that a famishing soul might desire, either for the body or spirit of men, women and children to feast upon from hence forth through the countless and ceaseless ages and ages of time to come.

With a high and unadulterated regard for God, liberty, Jesus Christ, humanity and equal rights,

JAMES HUTCHINS.

To ULYSSES S. GRANT, President of the United States.

How many hired servants of my father have been enough and to spare, and I beseech with hunger. I will arise and go to my father, and will say unto him, Father, I have sinned against Heaven and before thee.

dience to a righteous law, will the high, the low, the rich, the poor and needy ones of the present age of the world bear in patience with this, man's philanthropist, and allow him, with frugality, to offer a few more important and leading facts in review of each individual's consideration in regard to rewards and punishments in this world and the one to come. With the testimony before us, that the majority of the world of mankind has lived for long years under the guidance and jurisdiction of sophisticated laws, administered by human wisdom alone, have only been productive of momentary peace and harmony between man and man, should be sweeping testimony—sufficient to satisfy all inquiring and investigating minds that to arrive unto a full degree of harmony under the influence and jurisdiction of sophisticated laws is a moral impossibility; and to arrive to the desired position can only be attained under the administration of an unsophisticated law supremely presided by heaven's council, as in the days of a Moses and a Solomon. Man's redemption from sin and delivery from punishment particularly and strictly depends upon the conditions and circumstances of his embracing a full code of complicated truths. And after seeing, comprehending and appreciating the fact that the thoughtless, reckless and disobedient portions of mankind have wasted their estates viciously in traveling upon the high and rough ways of prodigality; and as the parable of the two sons shaken off by the Lord of the whole earth are applicable to the present situation and circumstances of the affairs of mankind at present is plain, when that plainness is once comprehended by a sound, intellectual, scientific and mathematical rule of reasoning from cause to effect and from effect to cause, by that rule of reasoning, while in the midst of perilous surroundings, seems to be the motherly cause of the spendthrift (that's written of). Beginning to come to himself, he then soon began to comprehend, to a given extent, that which had been the slow but sure producing cause of his there poverty, smitten and perilous circumstances that surrounded him. He then began not only to remember, but to consider, that he

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